NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Illinois U Library

BER 1948 VOLUME XXXVII, NO. 10

nd Now — Village Government Reform! ..... *Editorial*

et the Citizens Play a Part ..... *Walter M. Phillips*

rie County Gets New Tasks ..... *Mary K. Nenno*

ig City Held in Hobble Chains ..... *Claude E. Hawley*

itizens Would End Counties ..... *James M. Langley*

lanners Weigh Decentralization 546

Teas for Ten' Reach Thousands 553

weden Holds P. R. Elections 557

wo Counties Vote on Manager Plan 560

lew Jersey Commission Disapproves GI Bonus 562

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR — ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

EDITORIAL COUNCIL

HAROLD W. DODDS, *Chairman* — A. E. BUCK
LOUIS BROWNLOW — RICHARD S. CHILDS

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
ROWLAND EGGER, Foreign News
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR., Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD, Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
RUPERT F. ASPLUND, *New Mexico*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
JAMES K. COLEMAN, *South Carolina*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
SIDNEY DETMERS, *New York*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
JAMES GIRAND, *Arizona*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
FREDERICK N. MACMILLIN, *Wisconsin*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. MCKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. MCPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Louisiana*
VINCENT A. OSTROM, *Wyoming*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOSEPH M. RAY, *Maryland*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
HAROLD W. SANFORD, *New York*
M. H. SATTERFIELD, *Tennessee*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
JAMES P. TAYLOR, *Vermont*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Iowa*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*

COUNCIL

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*
William Anderson, Minneapolis
Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
R. E. Blake, St. Louis
Henry Bruere, New York
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
Philip H. Cornick, Yonkers, N. Y.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Berry Fleming, Augusta, Ga.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Gerard B. Lambert, Princeton, N. J.
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Joseph D. McGoldrick, New York
Stratford Lee Morton, St. Louis
William J. Pape, Waterbury, Conn.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville, Ky.

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

Illinois U Library

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVII, No. 10 Total Number 382

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for November 1948

MANAGER PLAN AND TAXES ..... Boston *Herald* 526

CINCINNATI HONORS MURRAY SEASONGOOD 526

EDITORIAL COMMENT 527

LET THE CITIZENS PLAY A PART ..... *Walter M. Phillips* 529

ERIE COUNTY GETS NEW TASKS ..... *Mary K. Nenno* 534

BIG CITY HELD IN HOBBLE CHAINS ..... *Claude E. Hawley* 538

CITIZENS WOULD END COUNTIES ..... *James M. Langley* 541

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION ..... *H. M. Olmsted* 546

CITIZEN ACTION ..... *Elsie S. Parker* 553

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ..... *George H. Hallett, Jr., and Wm. Redin Woodward* 557

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP ..... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 560

TAXATION AND FINANCE ..... *Wade S. Smith* 562

BOOKS IN REVIEW 565

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Manager Plan and Taxes

Boston Herald, Editorial July 29, 1948

The foes of Plan E[1] are going to jeer, "Yah, look at Cambridge. Had to boost the tax rate $4.40. Guess the city manager cities don't do so well either."

But if anyone bothers to look closer, he will find that this Plan E city, oldest in the state, is doing, comparatively, very well indeed, thank you, and the comparison with Boston is distinctly not in Boston's favor.

Yes, Cambridge's rate has gone up $4.40. But Boston's went up, on paper, $6.90, and even this doesn't reflect the true increase. A dubious "surplus revenue" account was drawn on for $5,000,000 and property valuations were upped $25,000,000, a perennial phony.

Cambridge's new rate is still less than the rate for 1941, less by $6.40. It is the only city in the state except Chicopee that has a lower rate this year than in 1941. This is the first year since Plan E was adopted that the rate has not gone down. In that same period since 1941 Boston's rate has gone up $13.80.

The Cambridge rate, which is an honest rate uncontaminated by juggling of property valuations, is now $39.90. Boston's rate, on paper, is $53.40, though under an honest computation it would be considerably more. Even so, there is a lot of difference between $39.90 and $53.40, and the difference is not in Boston's favor. Thirty-four cities in the state have higher rates than Cambridge; only six have higher rates than Boston.

Cambridge had its high tax levels back in the old pre-Plan E days, when it reached $46.30. Boston's is still climbing, and seems likely to keep on climbing until we turn to the efficiency of a good city manager.

To sum up, Plan E produces no miracles. When the legislature piles up welfare costs, when city employees have to be given 40-hour weeks at higher pay, when other inescapable costs rise a Plan E city is hit as much as any other. But these increases are added to a sound, efficient government. When these inescapable costs hit Boston, they go on top of an already wasteful administration.

[1]Plan E, optional for Massachusetts cities, provides the manager plan with P. R. It has been adopted by Cambridge (1940), Lowell (1942), Worcester, Medford, Quincy and Revere (1947). The town of Saugus has a similar charter, given by special act of the legislature.

Cincinnati Honors Murray Seasongood

Led by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, friends of Murray Seasongood, former president of the National Municipal League and mayor of Cincinnati from 1926 to 1930, honored him with a testimonial dinner on October 27 on the occasion of his 70th birthday. More than six hundred of his fellow citizens, including associates of the local state and national bar associations and business and industry, joined in the tribute.

Arthur S. Flemming, president of Ohio Wesleyan University, presented the testimonial address. Other speakers were Mayor Albert D. Cash and Harry J. Gilligan, president of the City Charter Committee, of which Mr. Seasongood was one of the founders.

Mr. Seasongood, responding, thanked the audience for the honor they did him, but added he had no intention whatever of retiring from either his professional activities or his many civic interests.

Long in demand as a speaker by civic groups throughout the nation, Mr. Seasongood has been a member of the National Municipal League Council for two decades and a leading contributor to the REVIEW.

Editorial Comment

And Now — Village Government Reform!

A FEATURE of village government is that "everybody knows everybody else"—supposedly, at least—and ballots may be long without getting beyond the range of the average voter's information. Historically, the oldest village and town governments as seen in the New England states are a patchwork of elective boards, added one by one in past decades as new functions developed, and always rather independent of each other.

Here, for instance, is the structure of a certain old elm-shaded Connecticut town of 11,000 population: the voters elect a board of three selectmen, board of three assessors, town clerk, town treasurer, six members of a board of finance, two fire district committees which levy their own taxes to support area service of water supply and sewers, tax collector, board of tax review, several constables who, however, do nothing and are paid nothing, several justices of the peace who get together and elect one of their number to hold court, grand jurors in whom is vested selection of the prosecutor and assistant prosecutor, and a nine-member board of education. And a town meeting with mostly negative functions!

Call it twelve governments, for each officer or group, being independently elected for a fixed term, is a little separate government whose cooperation with the others is highly optional!

Ballots are partisan and nominees of the parties are chosen by party caucuses, open to all party members; the Republican caucus last year brought out an attendance of 60, the Democratic caucus, eighteen. Election of the Republican designees is routine but their ticket amiably leaves certain minority positions to be filled by the Democrats.

Town meetings recently have had an attendance varying from eleven to a thousand, and have sometimes been packed and are sometimes disorderly. The town employees are generally willing, honest, elderly, leisurely and low paid. It's wonderful that it works at all!

So such towns are finding their own way to vesting all or most of the power in the board of selectmen and empowering it to appoint a town manager with control over the whole payroll except the schools. Strong efforts are proceeding to make this plan available to all Massachusetts towns; there is bitter resistance by associations of town officials.

An unforeseen expansion of the movement is taking the principle into very small towns and villages clear down to hamlets of 200 or 500 population. A state law in Maine that facilitated the consolidation of little elective and appointive offices, combining them into one paid managership, has brought adoptions in that state to more than 90 communities.

Several village managers run two villages at once and one manager, Fred C. Greaves, serves three—Hodgdon (town), population 1,076 and the adjoining town of Linneus, population 775, since 1940 and Reed (plantation), population 450, since

1945. The jurisdictions are not always adjoining; one manager oscillates 58 miles from one village to the other.

Sometimes the manager handles a village and its enclosing town; there are six such arrangements in Vermont where A. F. Hawkes, for instance, since 1945 has managed Chester (village), population 749, and Chester (town), population, including the village, 1,740. The manager may be assigned as many as five other time honored titles and duties—tax collector, treasurer, road commissioner, clerk and overseer of the poor.

All that is new since 1940 and is spreading fast!

Hear Ye! Hear Ye! Hear Ye!

National Conference on Government this Month.

Come to the Hotel Statler in Boston, November 22, 23, 24.

Come one, come all, from Maine, California, Minnesota, Florida and Missouri. Meet with several hundred of your fellow citizens of Hometown, U. S. A.

Hear League President Charles Edison, Cincinnati Mayor Albert D. Cash, New York State Comptroller Frank C. Moore, Kansas City Manager L. P. Cookingham, Memphis Editor E. J. Meeman, St. Paul's School Master Charles C. Buell, Cincinnati Councilman Charles P. Taft, Michigan LWV Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Municipal Consultant Thomas H. Reed, Civic Educator John J. Mahoney, California Constitutional Expert Norris J. Burke, Harvard Professor Carl J. Friedrich, Richmond Citizen L. E. Marlowe, Jacqueline Tyrwhitt of London, England, and many others.

Ask questions and get facts about the future of our big cities and their suburbs, the twilight of the political bosses, the meaning of the council-manager plan, how a small town can be efficient and democratic too, what is in store for the local taxpayer, how to get the truth about your hometown affairs, the trend to modern state constitutions, what P. R. really means, the techniques of successful citizen organization, how to educate for democracy, how powerful a single citizen can be.

Raise your own voice, tell about your own experience, give your own ideas. It's your home town, your meeting.

National Conference on Government this Month.

et the Citizens Play a Part

Philadelphia advisory planning commission with adequate citizen backing makes for good results, civic leader finds.

By WALTER M. PHILLIPS*

OULD a city planning commission have legal powers to it difficult for the city council the city government's executive rtments to alter the plans deed and promulgated by the mission?

New York the city planning mission is fortified by charter isions such as those requiring a -quarter vote of the board of mate to overrule actions of the mission in order to add to the al budget or make zoning or changes.

take the view that a city plan- commission should have no powers, that in general they not only contrary to the best ciples of representative govern- but also of no value in the run and possibly defeating to very purpose of effective city ning.

iladelphia, which carefully con- ed adopting the New York set- but rejected it in favor of a mission only advisory to the or and city council, has had in past few years a commission h has functioned effectively.

1939 there was a campaign in Philadelphia for a new city charter. The planning provisions of the proposed charter were modeled on the New York law and required a two-thirds vote of a proportional representation council to overrule the city planning commission on the matter of adding to the capital budget or making zoning and master plan changes. For political reasons the new charter failed.

Some of the young and enthusiastic supporters of the proposed charter then formed an organization called the City Policy Committee, which decided to make city planning its major theme of interest. A group of young lawyers and the Junior Chamber of Commerce were invited to participate in a special joint committee on city planning. That committee prevailed upon the Philadelphia Housing Association to serve as its secretariat and it persuaded the Bureau of Municipal Research to make a study of the functioning of planning commissions in the other large cities of the United States. Philadelphia at that time had a completely inactive, non-paid, advisory planning commission of fourteen citizens.

When the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, on the basis of its study, recommended that the joint committee seek the creation of a new and purely advisory commission of five citizens and four public officials, and when the bureau

---

r. Phillips, Philadelphia business- is chairman of the board of the delphia Citizens' Council on City ning and vice president of the r Philadelphia Exhibit of 1947 to h he refers in his article. Long sted in civic welfare, Mr. Phillips formerly president of the Philadel- Bureau of Municipal Research.

cautioned against a commission with powers, the joint committee in Philadelphia was confronted with a momentous question. This was an especially difficult problem for a group deriving its existence from a charter campaign which had included as a major objective the New York setup with powers.

Decision Reached

The decision to adopt the recommendation of the Bureau of Municipal Research was reached only after extensive consultations with city planning people, government experts, interested groups and persons deep in the New York picture. The helpful and authoritative study by Robert A. Walker, *The Planning Function in Urban Government*, was read and re-read with great care. The final decision was based on these considerations:

1. City planning deals with many questions of broad policy. In representative government final power on public policy and expenditure should rest unencumbered with elected officials.

2. A commission which exercises its powers to override the majority wishes of city council will in time be starved for budget appropriations by council and will then be unable to conduct planning studies.

3. The requirements of a three-quarters or two-thirds vote in Philadelphia would not mean anything because of the long tradition of one-party government, with all important decisions made informally in caucus and usually with an almost unanimous official vote in city council afterward. In recent years there have never been more t two Democrats to twenty Rep licans in a council of twenty- members. Without proportio representation the requireme would have little effect.

4. Power is illusive. It does reside primarily in city charter p visions but principally in the of the people. It was felt that aroused public interest would more to further city planning t would reliance on legal authorit

5. The factual study of Bureau of Municipal Research in cated that, except for New Yo nearly all city planning commissi were only advisory. Their succes and failures depended on many f tors not eliminated in the New Y experiment. Very important amo those factors is the working relati ship of the staff of the city pl ning commission with the person of other city departments.

The joint committee in Philad phia realized that city planning greatly resisted by politicians cause it so frequently runs coun to political considerations, especia those of a log-rolling charact That is why charter reform peo felt the need for commission pow imposed by the state legislature unwilling local political leade The joint committee knew that too could go to the legislature w a program for a planning commiss with powers and could undoubt ly have the support of the sen Philadelphia Chamber of Co merce, the Pennsylvania Econo League, many other civic organi tions, and the leaders of the rec charter reform movement. T

nces would have been good for ting as a "sop" the planning pro-ions of the new charter without politically disliked proportional resentation and manager setup.

Ordinance Introduced

Nevertheless, the young group on joint committee decided that it nted city planning established by y council itself and belonging to city council, not imposed by the islature.[1]

A draft of an ordinance to be roduced in city council for the ation of a new advisory com-ssion of nine members was pre-ed by the Bureau of Municipal search, but the new acting mayor led to recommend it to council d, when the bill was finally intro-ced in April 1941 by one of the ncilmen, it was marked "by re-est." The words "by request" an to the other councilmen "this not my measure and you need not pport it. I am only introducing to satisfy one of my constituents."

The introduction of the ordinance ve the joint committee a chance test its theory of aroused citizen terest. It was felt that the politi-l leaders were not bad individuals. survive under the system, they re persons sensitive to the wants people.

It was possible now to organize for a specific objective—the passage of the ordinance. Various organizations were invited to adopt resolutions in support of the new city planning ordinance and to appoint a delegate to an action committee on city planning. A total of 80 civic and professional groups gave their active support. They included architectural, engineering and other professional societies, welfare institutions, labor unions, businessmen's associations, service clubs, civic organizations and neighborhood improvement associations. Their interest was aroused and their actions coordinated by a well knit group of young persons devoted to the idea which these young people had developed. At hearings finally held by city council, the council chambers were crowded by interested citizens, and outstanding leaders of the community testified in favor of the ordinance. Without a single material change the ordinance was passed by council in December 1942.

Interest ran so high that excellent appointments to the new commission were soon made by the mayor, and Edward Hopkinson, Jr., an outstanding business and banking leader, was named as chairman.

The action committee on city planning, representing the 80 organizations, constituted itself into a permanent body, the Citizens' Council on City Planning. At first it was serviced by the staff of the Philadelphia Housing Association; later it was admitted to the Community Chest and obtained its own executive staff. It has grown to 120 organizations maintaining, each to its own degree and along its own

[1] There is one city charter provision hich was acceptable and would still favored as an act of the legislature, mely, a requirement that all capital provement projects should be sub-itted to the city planning commission r study and public recommendations city council prior to final action by uncil. This has been termed "com-lsory review."

lines, an active interest in city development.

The citizens' council serves its member groups by supplying information, arranging meetings and speakers, rendering to its members semi-technical planning assistance, and by aiding and advising the various groups in their special concerns and their more general concerns for the city. The net result has been a sustained interest in city planning for the past five years.

In the fall of 1947 the enthusiasm of Philadelphia's city planning movement flowed over into an exhibition dramatically but accurately showing the plans developed by the commission. It cost nearly $400,000 and about 400,000 people saw it.[2]

Commission Is Effective

The measure of achievements in Philadelphia, however, lies in the effectiveness of the commission. In the early days there was a tendency of city council to by-pass it. The commission's suggestions about the first express highway considered for Philadelphia were ignored, and the protests of the Citizens' Council on City Planning could not overcome political obstacles to the commission's idea.

Similarly, city council was about to double the size of one of the two major airports and triple the size of the other without reference to the airport studies just being completed by the city planning co mission. On a protest from t citizens' council, the commissi was promptly consulted and recommendation for the immedia large-scale development of one a port only, an idea strongly su ported by the Philadelphia Cha ber of Commerce, has been followe The land for the other has be acquired for future reserve wi planning commission approval. T log-rolling which threatened a di sipation of public funds in a doub development was thus stopped.

In the acquisition of about new playgrounds, city council b gan with its own program of ind pendent selection by the counci men of sites for their districts, b when council's attention was calle by the citizens' council to the pla ning commission's studies on th subject, a selection of sites wa finally worked out with the com mission and adopted in almost enti harmony with the commission plans. It was a good resolution political interests and city plannin considerations.

The big test of the commissio has come in the past two loan au thorizations, $72,000,000 last yea and $38,500,000 this year. Las year they were in accord with cit planning commission's recommenda tions with but one or two mino exceptions. This year it was a 10 per cent planning commission pro gram. Pressing needs for over $70 000,000 of commission recommend ations were reduced according t commission priorities to the $38 500,000 possible under the deb limit.

[2]The Better Philadelphia Exhibition is well described in text and with many interesting photographs in "Philadelphia Plans Again," *The Architectural Forum*, December 1947.

ihe Philadelphia commission has
adequately financed by city
ncil, about $300,000 per year.
as been most ably staffed and
of political appointments. It
been allowed to do city plan-
without the burden of handling
inistrative work such as zoning
ptions and subdivision control.
se functions are performed by
rate boards with which the
mission works on matters of
y.

hether Philadelphia has hit
a special formula for effectu-
g the city planning process, has
the good fortune of a series of
dental favorable events, or has
erienced a "flash-in-the-pan" city
ning reform cannot yet be final-
letermined. There is no assur-
e that the present standards
be permanently maintained, and
e are many very serious prob-
s relating to the execution of the
rovements program.

he theory of informal organiza-
, however, clearly supports the
adelphia approach. That theory holds that an organization is no stronger than the personal relationships of the people involved, extending from the inner to the outer circles. A strong idea may fail for lack of supporting informal organization to create the understanding, cooperation and the spirit of purposefulness so essential to accomplishment.[3] City planning based on voluntary cooperation may be less perfect in terms of structural detail than "wisdom" imposed by law, but surely it is more satisfying in terms of the wants of all the people.

The Philadelphia experience of recent years is an illustration and application of our theory of democratic government, and demonstrates the workability of an advisory city planning commission backed by a citizen organization well rooted in the community.

---

[3]For development of the concept of informal organization see *The Functions of the Executive*, by Chester I. Barnard, Part II Chapter 9, Harvard University Press, sixth printing, 1947. The entire book is applicable to the problems of civic organization.

Erie County Gets New Tasks

But ancient governmental setup, without central executi
cannot hope to cope with increased responsibilities, co

By MARY K. NENNO*

WHAT is happening in Erie County? The answer is, "Plenty!"

Recent years have witnessed a new trend in relations between the county and its major city, Buffalo. Important functions of municipal government, among them health, welfare, libraries and probation, have been transferred from the city to the county with a consequent increase in county responsibilities and costs.

In 1930 residents of the county spent about $8,600,000 for services from their county government. The budget listed 948 county employees and properties totaled $15,600,000.

In 1948, the county budget is $32,470,000, there are 3,609 county employees, and county properties are valued at $48,500,000.

Erie is the largest county in upstate New York and one of the seventeen counties in the United States of over 500,000 population. The 1940 census showed a total of 798,377 residents; the estimate for 1948 is 876,710. Almost 70 per cent reside in Buffalo.

Slowly but steadily since 1930 the county government has absor new responsibilities until today is a major influence in the l picture. The increased moment of this "trend to the county" shown dramatically in the eve of the past year, driven home the citizen in the hard fought el tion of November 1947. T contest climaxed the most vigor battle to raise Buffalo's dust in decade and the disturbances wh prompted it have not been settl A year later the issues behind election are still "red hot" and h great meaning for the future.

The real setting for the elect was laid in February 1947, whe resolution was introduced in county board of supervisors, un the auspices of the majority pa calling for transfer from Buffalo the county of five city servic health, libraries, airport, probat and bathing beach. The spons advanced in strong terms their ture of Erie County as a met politan area, proclaiming that c solidation would "promote progr in our teeming metropolitan co munity" and that all county r dents were "mutually dependent the general economic prosperity, dustrial development and cultu progress of our common goal better living."

With such lofty aims as an op ing sally, majority leaders pres strongly for immediate action. most overnight bills appeared in

*Miss Nenno is a staff member of the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau. She began her graduate training, with field work in local government, at the Institute of Local and State Government of the University of Pennsylvania. This article is based on her master's thesis—she secured her degree from the University of Buffalo early this year—on the changing picture of Erie County government from 1930 through 1947.

: legislature paving the way for
ation changes and public hear-
were called to discuss creation
county health department and
unty library.
rom the first, it was evident
proponents would draw heavy
ort from professional sources.
lers in public health, both state
local, who long had been on
rd as favoring the county as a
of health administration, firm-
upported the new measure. A
liberal policy of state aid for
nty health departments also
e such a move attractive. The
ls of the city's two libraries as
as the Erie County Library
ciation, representing rural com-
nities, embraced the county li-
y idea as sound and logical.
ity taxpayers' organizations and
l village trustees, as well as the
isan opposition, registered every
ion from words of caution to
right claims of political maneuver-
The sole minority member of the
council and a minority member
the board of supervisors scored
mayor for his willingness to
untarily "spearhead the whole-
transfer of essential city proper-
and expressed the fear that
ffalo might become "worse than
ne-horse town."
Although less outspoken in its re-
ach, rural sentiment nevertheless
manded more information on the
posed changes and a possible
erendum.
Taxpayers' groups in Buffalo
nerally regarded the transfers as
evasion of the 2 per cent consti-
ional limit which placed a lid on
amount of money which could be raised in the city from real estate taxes. They saw an increase in the county taxes with no corresponding drop in the city. There was a prevailing opinion that the move was closely tied with the financial difficulties facing the city administration as it prepared the budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1947

Tangible Results

Ten weeks after the first resolution was introduced locally, the governor signed the necessary state legislation and a substantial part of the program became cold fact: (1) A county health department was created, to include that formerly administered by Buffalo; (2) a county library was established, with the anticipated membership of Buffalo's two libraries as well as other libraries in the county; (3) the county probation department was extended to include the city department. These changes became effective January 1, 1948.

The fruits of the city-county transfers were brought forth in the campaign and election in the fall. They became one of the major local issues and the views, pro and con, were aired from one end of the county to the other.

Looking back on the year of controversy in the cooler light of succeeding months, it seems clear that the financial plight of Buffalo was the most important single cause for the transfers. The metropolitan idea was not new and there is no indication that this question had suddenly developed a strong and insistent demand for its adoption in February 1947.

If the transfer program was due primarily to the realization that Buffalo and Erie County were now an interdependent metropolitan area, the change-over would have been more gradual and accompanied by a more definite plan. The simple facts are that the functions which were transferred allowed the city to carry only one-half year's expenditures in the proposed budget and made it possible to hold expenses within the legal tax limit. The medium of the metropolitan area was used in helping to solve Buffalo's budget dilemma.

One result of the vigorous airing of opinions on the city-county transfers was to focus attention on the county government. Thus, the changes which have taken place over the past years have suddenly been brought into the public light. These developments can be summarized as follows: In 1932 the Erie County Children's Court was created; in 1938 the Buffalo welfare functions were transferred and a consolidated welfare department was set up for the whole county; in 1939 the position of county comptroller was established; in 1940 the Veteran's Service Office was created; in 1942 a personnel officer was authorized; in 1943 the county was made a soil conservation district; in 1946 the city's general hospital was shifted to the county and a county youth bureau was set up; in 1947, in addition to the transfers already listed, a county planning board was created and a 1 per cent sales tax was imposed, receipts to be distributed to the county's school districts.

Perhaps the most strategic cha in this impressive list was the tra fer of city welfare functions in 19 The real beginning of city-cou transfers came on the advice of t then mayor of Buffalo because, his words, "the city of Buffalo ca not continue to carry the welfa load on its present basis." T move was the first indication t Buffalo's pressing financial pr lems, brought about apparently expansive construction in the 192 and heavy relief financing duri the depression, were not tempora but were due to long-term caus and would have permanent repe cussions.

Long-Term Cause

In the face of rising costs a ever-mounting demands for ne services, Buffalo's population h been losing ground to the subur since 1920. The city's resident which numbered 573,076 in 193 increased only 0.5 per cent by 19 in contrast to the 13 per cent i crease shown in the previous decad The six towns and two cities i mediately adjacent to Buffalo i creased 20.7 per cent in the 1930- decade. The nine towns in the ne adjacent radius gained 14.3 per ce while the ten towns comprising t most removed units from Buffalo i creased 7.5 per cent. This popul tion trend toward the suburbs r moved a growing number of citize from the city tax rolls at a tim when services and costs were i creasing. The pressure of a growi city could not be confined behind a artificial political boundary—t Buffalo city line.

The transfer of welfare in 1938 s the first break in an impossible uation. It is clear to the careful server that it is not a partisan litical problem but one made cial by a condition paying no d to any party or pressure—just in physical growth.

Erie County has become an in-asingly important unit of govern-nt largely because of the trans- of functions from Buffalo. It uld have been fortunate if the nty structure were well equipped do the job; the fact is, it is not.

What Is Needed

Unlike Buffalo, which has oper-d under five different charters ce 1832, the county has had no sic overhauling of its machinery ce it was erected in 1821. The nty organization is a mixture of e elective officers, six boards and enty officials appointed by the ard of supervisors or judicial of-ers. The 54-member board of pervisors, through its power of ap-opriation, is the only connecting k among them. Through its com-ittees the board also directs ac-vities of appointive officers. But large, part-time board cannot both gislate for and administer a $32,-00,000 corporation. There is a sperate need for a central ex-cutive to direct administration.

In spite of the failure of the unty manager plan at a refer-ndum in 1937, reorganization is not dead issue. The basic causes hich then prompted a reform de-and have not been satisfied. The following problems, among others, are very much in the picture:

1. Need for a central executive;
2. Difficulty in coordinating the powers of elective and appointive officers into a unified system;
3. An adjustment of the powers and facilities of the board of supervisors to make it an effective policy-making board by:
   a. Relieving it of burdensome administrative detail,
   b. Examining the number and distribution of members to assure ease in operation as well as adequate representation,
   c. Giving the board increased power of local legislation;
4. The need for a sound departmental organization and modern budget and accounting systems;
5. A closer definition of the respective places of the county and the state in the various functions.

The county is being called upon to do a job it was not set up to do —and it is straining under the load. It must be adjusted to new responsibilities by the introduction of more modern tools. This problem demands immediate solution; the future will not wait. By the 1950 census, increasing population will have pressed still deeper into areas adjacent to the city, placing even greater demands on the county machinery. To avoid tragic and costly mistakes, the county structure must be put in shape.

In a few words, Erie County has come of age, full of promise for the future—but experiencing some disturbing growing pains!

Big City Held in Hobble Chains

Little hope seen for a revision of Los Angeles charter even though authorities call it the 'worst in the nation.'

By CLAUDE E. HAWLEY*

LOS ANGELES is a well governed city in spite of its charter which, by almost any standard, is bad. Mayor Fletcher Bowron recently called it the worst in the nation. Councilmen periodically fulminate against it. Civic organizations have issued reports on why and how it should be changed. Even members of the city attorney's office have confessed privately that they are not sure what certain sections of it are all about. There is no general agreement on the contents of a new charter, however, hence chances are good that the nation's most rapidly growing city will continue to bumble along with a basic law drafted initially for a cow town.

The present charter was drawn up by a board of freeholders and adopted in 1925, when the city's population was less than a million, as compared to nearly two million today. Moreover, the present charter follows the essential outline of its predecessor adopted in 1889, when the city's population was 50,000 and its area was less than 30 square miles, as compared to 452 square miles today.

*Dr. Hawley, until recently with the University of Southern California, is now associate chief for social sciences of the U. S. Office of Education. Simultaneously with his duties at the university, Dr. Hawley acted as field secretary to Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles, conducting research studies on administrative aspects of the city government.

Because of the maze of detail found among the charter's more than 300 pages, many legislative or administrative actions cannot be taken by city officials without popular approval of an amendment. That is why, year after year, voters are called upon to express their opinion on such matters as changing the name of the humane department to department of animal regulation or whether an obsolete section of the charter pertaining to a non-existent department ought to be eliminated. Many of the amendments are of such a highly technical nature it is a foregone conclusion that the voters do not know what they are voting for or against. One recent amendment, thirteen pages in length, proposed a substantial increase of city employees' pensions. That the voters approved it was undoubtedly due less to their understanding of its contents than to the reported $70,000 worth of radio, billboard and newspaper advertising used to implore the people simply to "Vote 'Yes' on Charter Amendment Number 1."

In 1947 alone, the people were asked to approve twenty proposed amendments. Since the adoption of the charter in 1925, they have found it necessary to amend it 164 times —and a new batch of changes will be voted on at the 1949 election!

The organization of eighteen of the twenty departments of the city is frozen into the charter. Regard-

of the individual needs of de-tments, all are organized essen-ly alike. All are headed by rds of five commissioners, most whom serve on a part-time basis $50 a month. Only two of the nty departments are not con-led by charter provisions. They e created by ordinance and, ously enough, kept under the ct supervision of the council.

Nearly all the commissioners are ointed and subject to removal the mayor with the consent of council. Actual heads of the de-tments, chief of police, health er, city librarian, etc., are ap-nted from a civil service list and removable by the boards of missioners only. Thus practical-o direct control is given the city's f executive over the depart-nts for whose supervision the ter makes him responsible.

Eight Budgets, Three Pensions

os Angeles has eight budgets. en individual departments have r own and are, therefore, for all tical purposes, separate govern-nts unto themselves, beyond con-of the council or mayor. Hap-; most of the separate depart-nts conform to the general cies of the city—sometimes, to sure, because their own sources of enue are inadequate and they st seek additional appropriations m the council.

Although there is some justifi-on for the existence of separate gets, especially for departments aged in proprietary functions, Los geles has found out that depart-ntal independence can be carried too far. This is especially true when independent departments fix wages for their employees without reference to pay scales established in other departments.

A recent study reveals, for example, that the department of water and power pays entrance rates that are approximately $34 per month higher than those paid by the rest of the city for comparable positions. Messengers, clerks, stenographers, secretaries, key punch operators, warehousemen, carpenters, blacksmiths and elevator operators, all fare much better if they work for water and power than they would if they worked for any other department. The effect of such a situation on the morale of city workers is not good.

Still another form of independence perpetuated by the charter accounts for the existence of three separate and distinct pension systems for city employees. Department of water and power workers have their system, firemen and policemen have theirs, and the rest of the civil servants have a third. The details of operation of each of the systems are thoroughly described in the charter in some 30-odd pages of text. Changes effecting a consolidation of the systems which, from an objective view would seem wholly sensible, cannot be made by legislators or administrators. The entire electorate must approve.

Despite numerous court decisions to the contrary, the charter of Los Angeles declares the right of a policeman or fireman to hold his position to be "a substantial property right of which he shall not be deprived arbitrarily or summarily."

Procedure is set up whereby policemen and firemen can be discharged normally only after a hearing before a board of rights made up of officers of their departments. These sections have been the subject of much controversy, but there is little chance that they will be altered while the Police and Fire Protective League continues to be one of the city's most potent pressure groups.

The Los Angeles city council must hold a public meeting at least five days every week, whether its business warrants such meetings or not. The charter insists! As a result, the fifteen-man legislative body puts on a public performance each week day at 10 A.M. Sometimes the subject of the meeting is city business; frequently it becomes national or international in scope. Seldom a day goes by without a display of oratory, on almost any subject. Many of the legislators admit that they would accomplish much more in less time if they were not required to make speeches every day, but the charter puts a premium on egoism.

Another curious charter proviso relative to the council is that which creates fifteen council committees—a number just sufficient to provide each councilman with one chairmanship and two other memberships! The committees hold formal hearings and otherwise emulate their congressional counterparts. Whether this imitation of the national legislature expedites the execution of city business or not, is open to serious question.

In spite of these and other fe tures of the charter that do violen to the principles of good gover ment and sound administration, L Angeles by most measurable stan ards compares favorably with oth American cities. That is a maj reason why agitation for a new ci charter is not strong. The prese mayor and many another respons ble citizen, however, claim that L Angeles could be a much better go erned city were it not for the obst cles placed in the way of its officia by the charter.

Changes Difficult

Efforts to obtain a general r vision of the document were made 1935, 1937, 1939 and 1940, but a failed. The more detailed and com plicated the document is, apparentl the more people there are intereste in its *not* being simplified. Man a vested interest, particularly civil servants, is written into th charter. None will be changed removed without a major battle.

Nothing remotely resembling a integrated administrative organiza tion exists in the government of th city of Los Angeles under its chart today. One can attribute the rel tively effective government of th city primarily to such fortuitous ci cumstances as the willingness, wit out legal compulsion, of the depar mental managers to cooperate wi each other and with the mayor. Un a new charter is adopted, there w be a premium on circumventi those provisions that have plagu many a Los Angeles city admini trator for more than twenty years

Citizens Would End Counties

Horse and buggy age duties, unsuited to modern times, bring increased recognition as useless in New Hampshire.

By JAMES M. LANGLEY*

TIME has passed New Hampshire county government by. Entrenched is habit, however, that it has been nearly twenty years since this first became obvious and nothing has yet been done to rid the state of this obsolete third level of government.

Only within the past year have events conspired to awaken a much larged segment of the public to the facts, and to generate an increased demand that the state, in the interests of both economy and better public administration, abolish county government as no longer necessary. Such action is both practicable and desirable, and could most readily accomplished by constitutional amendment.

It was not until 1856, just before the Civil War, that county commissioners, with powers similar to those they possess today, were created by legislation and county government as we know it really began. The commissioners were given custody of paupers, which previously had been exercised by the court of common pleas, the duties of the old road commissioners were turned over to them, and they were made responsible for all county property. The powers of the county convention, consisting of the county's delegation to the state house of representatives, were not increased. The convention remained only a taxing and appropriating authority.

The only other important change in county government came when the constitution was amended in 1877 to provide for popular election of solicitors, sheriffs and registers of probate. It is this constitutional article which must be amended to permit the abolishment of county government, though nowhere in the constitution are there any provisions for county conventions or county commissioners, they being creations of the legislature.

Historically the town is the basic unit of local government in New England. One New England state, Rhode Island, has no county government. There, counties are merely judicial districts for the convenience of the people. They are little more than that in some other New England states. That is all they should be in New Hampshire.

Even though county government is much stronger and is used far more extensively as the basic local government in many of the states outside of New England, it is generally agreed that county gov-

*Mr. Langley is publisher, as well as editor and manager, of the Concord *Daily Monitor and New Hampshire Patriot*. He was chairman, without compensation, of the New Hampshire State Planning and State Land Use Boards for seven years following their creation, of the local zoning board of adjustment for ten years and subsequently of the Concord Planning Board. He has served as a delegate to two New Hampshire constitutional conventions.

ernment everywhere is the real seat of political bossism in this country. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League, puts it this way. County government is "the most stubborn citadel of political bossism." The dispassionate and nonpartisan League of Women Voters, in its study pamphlet on county government, says: "the county is often the vital unit of party government and the stronghold of the spoils system." Mr. Childs makes another critical but deserved observation when he says:

> Obscurity and complexity of county government partly explain the rareness of an attack upon the county boss. Responsibility in the county structure is so vague and scattered that voters in their fitful rebellions cannot find fair targets; the character of the county's work is inconspicuous by nature, the trail is easily confused. . . . And so the county boss, his machine, his grip on the clumsy mechanism of democracy, go on unmolested.

Officials Defend Counties

In our own state the organizations of county commissioners and of sheriffs and, finally, of all county officials, for purposes of defending their citadel against every effort to reduce it or to improve it, is evidence that so far as bossism goes county government in New Hampshire is no different from that anywhere else. Fortunately the towns are the basic units of local government here and the few functions which county government exercises can be taken away without trouble, with some economies and with assurance of improved public service.

Our county governments are sub ordinate to the state and not respon sive to the people. The counties a rigid judicial districts and the e pense of the judiciary is divided b tween the state and the countie The courts control their own e penditures even though the counti must pay them—other than salari paid by the state. The courts a supposed to control periodical audi of county accounts, a duty in whic they have been lax, as might be e pected, because it is an admini trative function and courts are n administrative implements.

Some county records are kept i the office of the secretary of stat other county activities must be r ported to the State Tax Commi sion, which is supposed to exerci certain controls over counties. Th county convention does not legi late for counties; the state legisl ture does. The county conventio can appropriate and what it a propriates becomes a tax upon th towns within the county; otherwi it has no powers. It may investiga county affairs, as it did recently Merrimack County, but the coun commissioners under state law cann be compelled to adopt a sing recommendation the convention ma make.

Members of the county conve tion are not elected as such by t people but as representatives to t legislature. Members of the coun commission and other county office are elected, hence are independe and not as a group responsive legislative representatives.

The only comprehensive study government in New Hampshire, th

the Brookings Institution, summarized its findings this way:

Relative to county organization, the conspicuous needs are for improved welfare administration, strengthened financial control, separation of the judiciary from general administration, closer coordination between state and county agencies, more specialized qualification in county officers and more effective popular control. Reorganization to attain these ends results in a reduction of elective county officers to the three commissioners only.

The Brookings study found not a single thing to commend about county government, and its recommended changes in county organization require repeal of the same constitutional article which must be repealed to abolish county government.

Not Good Subdivision

In describing characteristics of the political subdivisions in New Hampshire the Brookings study commented: "Confined chiefly to welfare and judicial administration, county government is not physically or psychologically close to the people." The county as a political subdivision does not lend itself to the best districting of the state even for those governmental functions it has. While there are ten counties, the "convenience of the people" makes necessary for the courts to sit in seven places. The county is a poor welfare district, for it overlaps the larger cities and towns where there is competent welfare administration and supervision.

The county is not the proper district for jails or houses of correction. There is need for far less than ten of each of these according to the only competent study of this problem which has been made, that undertaken by the Federal Bureau of Investigation several years ago in the process of approving New Hampshire jails in which federal prisoners could be housed.

In 1947, worst crime year in the annals of the nation, New Hampshire jails all together had only 100 prisoners on June 30 and houses of correction only 151, a total of 251, about enough to warrant one well managed institution. In 1944, a more normal crime year, the total of all prisoners on June 30 was only 181. In the past four years the jails in two counties have averaged only one prisoner. The present laws permit consolidation but the county governments have done virtually nothing in that direction.

The county is so unsuited to public administration that it has been given no new governmental functions since county government was organized under commissioners 92 years ago. Its early functions in connection with highways have virtually disappeared, its welfare responsibilities are less than a fifth of what they were, and their law enforcement functions have been greatly reduced since the state police were created. Yet in the past century the functions added to government in New Hampshire have been many. They have been administered by the state, often through districts designed to fit the particular function and its requirements and to decentralize administration, or by assigning the function

to the cities and towns—never to the counties.

Public education, for example, functions, so far as state supervision is concerned, through 50 superintendent districts which have no regard for county lines. Motor vehicle inspector districts number twelve, and have nothing to do with county lines. There are sixteen district liquor inspectors, five weights and measures inspectors, fifteen employment service and unemployment compensation district offices, ten highway division offices, twenty-nine fish and game area conservation officers, six development regions, none organized with regard to county lines.

Only the Public Welfare Department has field offices on a county basis, and it does so only because of the unnecessary participation of county government in relief functions.

Whereas counties were once election districts for members of the Governor's Council, they are no longer. Nor do they any longer serve as state senatorial districts. County lines are ignored even in dividing the state into two congressional districts.

Because the county tax is assessed upon a basis of valuations in the respective cities and towns in a county, it has long encouraged (so did the former state tax similarly assessed) evasiveness in maintaining valuations at 100 per cent of their true value according to New Hampshire law. County taxes have cost the cities and towns between $2,000,000 and $4,000,000 a year in recent years and local assessors have too often been tempted to ho down valuations in order to preve their city or town from paying i just share of the county tax. Abolis ment of county government wou abolish the county tax and he eliminate the inequitable assessme practices it encourages.

Naturally, before abolishing cou ty government, it is proper to a what becomes of the functions performs. These are roughly tw judicial and welfare.

The judicial and law enforceme function is essentially a state fun tion, and should be financed as we as controlled by the state.

The welfare function performe by the counties can be divided b tween the state and the cities a towns, all of which already exerci welfare functions. There would a similar division in financial respo sibilities.

How Distribute Functions

Certain general principles shou control the redistribution of coun functions. One is that the cou should be divested of administrati functions. Another is that wherev fees are charged they should be pa to the office and not to an offic Another is that all judicial and a ministrative officers should be a pointed and not elected. Anoth is that offices like the registry probate and registry of deeds shou through fees charged for servic be self-supporting. Another is th "for the convenience of the people the judiciary and welfare sup vision should be districted, and th judicial districts should be cal counties.

In whole, what the Brookings commendations mean is establishment of a state department of justice der the attorney general and a ate police force, both of which we chnically have now.

Common sense does not justify ntinuing to maintain a third level government to handle 10 per nt of the state's relief load and, the settlement law is changed as should be, the maintenance of unty government to handle less n 2 per cent of the total relief d becomes ridiculous. Without e counties there would be no convable reason for the present nonsical settlement law, under ich a person, after five years of ing on relief, automatically bemes a county rather than a local arge.

Transfer of Properties

If county government were olished what would happen to the perties they operate? Court houses uld go to the state, presumably the state superintendent of buildgs. Jails and houses of correction uld be administered by a state ency which, after taking them er, could effect the consolidations desirable and liquidate the rest. unty farms should become state property and their fate determined by the welfare department in cooperation with the agency which directs the fate of the adjacent jails and houses of correction.

County properties belong to the people. Now they are in the custody of county commissioners. If transferred to the custody of state agencies they would still belong to the people. There is no need for the state to pay the counties for these properties. The state also should assume any capital indebtedness outstanding against these properties. Those which would be liquidated probably would reimburse the state for indebtedness which must be paid.

There is no serious obstacle to abolishment of county government except two articles in the constitution. We believe the people are entitled to the opportunity to vote on the subject. Efforts to have the 1948 constitutional convention submit an amendment to articles 71 and 72, to give them that opportunity, have failed.[1] It may be borne in mind, however, that New Hampshire holds a constitutional convention every seven years and that the issue is now forcefully launched.

[1]See "New Hampshire Takes No Action on Counties," the REVIEW, July 1948, page 401.

News in Review

Planners Weigh Decentralization

Officials Debate Problems of City Growth, Congestion

INCREASINGLY urgent questions of urban growth and congestion on the one hand and of the advantages of decentralization on the other were faced at the 1948 conference of the American Society of Planning Officials in New York on October 11-13.

An immediate and vigorous start on comprehensive urban decentralization was urged by Tracy B. Augur, assistant to the director of the Tennessee Valley Authority's Department of Regional Studies, as a remedy for two great menaces—urban blight and the atomic bomb. He pointed out that more than 5,000,000 people have moved to the nation's metropolitan districts since 1940—at which time they already housed almost half the country's total population. As these areas include concentrations of industrial plant, transport facilities, business management and governmental administration, permitting them to grow larger would be viewed as desirable chiefly by foreign military planners considering long-term strategy of an attack upon us.

He declared that the United States would be much better off if it were building fifteen new dispersed cities of 50,000 population every year, instead of adding their equivalent, as is being done now, to a congestion that steadily makes our big centers less efficient as places of production and more attractive as targets for attack. He called it a most fortunate coincidence that a city of 40,000 or 50,000 which the National Security Resources Board considers generally too small to present an attractive target for atom bomb attack, is a rather good size for effective social, economic and political organization.

Mr. Augur insisted that the United States can achieve a pattern of dispersed small cities located singly, in small clusters, and in large metropolitan agglomerations that will give to all the advantages of a highly developed urban civilization, while reducing to the point of elimination the two greatest present dangers to its security—the atom bomb and financial bankruptcy. "Perhaps the trouble is that our accustomed pattern of real estate values would be disturbed," he commented. "Shall urban realty be left to seek its own new levels under the impetus of bombs and blight, or shall we begin now to work out real adjustments that can be accomplished gradually through orderly and peaceable processes?"

Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago discussed the question of urban decentralization from several angles—ways of living, industrial-economic factors, political considerations and military safety. He concluded:

"I do not anticipate the decline of urban population or the wholesale dispersion of great centers of population. A city expands but does not often disintegrate or disappear. If the urban community has a fundamentally sound economic base and has a site whose disadvantages are not too costly to overcome, then the realistic answer to the question of a desirable urban environment lies not in wholesale dispersion but in the judicious reshaping of the urban

mmunity and region by systematic elopment and redevelopment in ordance with forward looking intelligent plans. It is possible to en up the central areas of con- tion and create a more decentralized tropolitan pattern. . . .

A reasonable set of conditions for attainment of a desirable urban mmunity sketched in these broad ns would usually include a sound, ll balanced industrial structure; a her compact community pattern— h ample light and air and adequate eets, recreational and other public ces available in all sections; a anced development free of con- tion in building, population or ffic; a relatively stable and reason- le level of land values with all the d in efficient and socially desirable . Such an arrangement may be pected to extend the material and ltural advantages of urban life to far greater number of our popu- tion, to give them the benefits of a re healthful environment and a her personal and communal life".

Human Element Paramount

Lewis Mumford, writer on archi- ctural and city planning subjects, serted that programs of urban dis- rsal do not contribute materially to e comprehensive reconstruction of ban life. He said that the needs of man growth and development ould be the city planners' chief con- rn; and that such planning should d the spiritual, economic and cul- ral welfare and development of eople from the cradle to the grave.

A leading British city planner, rofessor Gordon Stevenson of Liver- ol University, told the conference at timid municipal policies are ndangering leadership by the west- rn democracies, and stressed the eed of realistic programs that devas- ted European cities can accept. He explained recent developments in British urban planning policy that have led to a program of building new industrial towns—a program that is hampered by national economic difficulties. War damage is still being repaired, and the pre-war building rate of 250,000 houses annually has been reached, with most of them being erected by the municipalities.

Charles B. Bennett of Los Angeles, who was re-elected president of the society, said that people in communities of all sizes are becoming more and more aware of the benefits to public administration flowing from planning, and that they are eager for concrete results. All planning should be "woven around the needs of people." He stated one planning difficulty to be a shortage of trained planners whose schooling has been tempered by contact with the city officials who must try to meet municipal needs out of inadequate budgets.

Some 400 officials, consultants and others interested in city and regional planning attended the conference. Besides Mr. Bennett as president, Rafael Pico, chairman of the Puerto Rico Planning, Urbanizing and Zoning Board, was chosen vice president, and Charles S. Ascher of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, treasurer. Walter H. Blucher continues as the executive director.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Narrows, Virginia, (population 1,489) has been granted a council-manager charter by the 1948 state legislature.

San Benito, Texas, (population 9,500) has now adopted the manager plan under an optional provision of its 1927 charter.

The council of **Glendale, Arizona,** (4,855) adopted a manager ordinance on September 28.

In **Eliot, Maine,** a town manager committee is making a study of the manager plan for the information of the committee and the electorate.

A citizens' group in **Nashua, New Hampshire,** is planning preparation of a council-manager charter bill for presentation to next year's legislature and the holding of a local referendum at the regular city election in November 1949.

The **Barre, Vermont,** *Daily Times,* in advocating a study of the council-manager plan, states that a committee of the Chamber of Commerce has been gathering data on which to base a report on the subject to its membership.

The manager plan is under study by the Young Executives Group of the **Burlington, Vermont,** Chamber of Commerce.

The **Rutland, Vermont,** board of aldermen on September 20 unanimously adopted a resolution asking Mayor W. N. Temple to appoint a commission to formulate a council-manager plan for Rutland and to draft the necessary charter amendments. The commission has accordingly since been appointed; it consists of three aldermen and four laymen, with the mayor an ex-officio member and the city attorney as legal advisor. The Rutland Chamber of Commerce is turning over to the new commission a favorable report on the manager plan recently prepared for the chamber by C. A. Webber, former city counsellor and now a member of the commission. The council-manager plan will be the topic for discussion at the Rutland meeting of the Vermont Forums, B. B. Warfield, local program chairman.

The trustees of the village of **Waterbury, Vermont,** are investigating the possibilities of the manager plan.

The council-manager plan or the strong mayor plan—preferably the former—has been recommended for **North Adams, Massachusetts,** in a survey report by Public Administration Service. The city now h three elective boards, eight appointi boards and ten city departments.

An ordinance proposed by Counci man Lee A. Worrell, calling for a N vember referendum in **Providenc Rhode Island,** on the question of stat legislation to permit localities to vot for or against the council-manager pla was defeated on a straight party vot September 16. Three Republican cou cilmen supported it but all 21 Dem cratic members were opposed. Th Providence *Bulletin* has been conduct ing a poll of legislative candidates a to whether localities should be permit ted to select their form of governmen from various optional types includin the manager plan. Those expressin any opinion were overwhelmingly i favor of such permission.

A proposal for adoption of the ma ager plan in **North Bergen, Ne Jersey,** was defeated on October 2 by a vote of 6,646 to 4,699.

The Citizens Advisory Committee o **Takoma Park, Maryland,** organized b a member of the city council, adopte a resolution endorsing the manage plan and calling for state legislation i the 1949 session and a local referendum The city council has approved pro posed legislation to this end, for sub mission to the state assembly.

The city council of **Cambridg Maryland,** is considering the manage plan.

The **Gate City, Virginia,** Chamber o Commerce has instituted a campaig for the manager plan.

A group of citizens in **Mansfield, Ohio** is working for a council-manage charter.

In **Michigan** council-manager cha ter votes will be held in **Rochester** o November 8 and in **Wakefield** o December 6.

The mayor and council of **St. Ignace Michigan,** are planning to present th question of charter revision and council

nager government to the voters at e April election.

The council of **Watervliet, Michigan,** been investigating the manager an as a possibility for that city.

The **Wausau, Wisconsin,** League of omen Voters is studying the manager an.

A city-wide committee has been or-nized in **Knoxville, Iowa,** by service ganizations, women's groups and the amber of Commerce to bring about option of the council-manager plan at e March 1949 election.

A council-manager proposal was de-ted in **Poplar Bluff, Missouri,** at a ecial election on October 12 by a te of 2,380 to 799, or about three one.

A proposed city-manager amendment the charter of **Miami, Oklahoma,** s defeated on September 7 by a vote 967 to 459.

The manager plan was endorsed by eakers at a meeting of the **Guymon, klahoma,** Kiwanis Club, including the cretary-manager of the Chamber of mmerce, president of the Lions Club, d two newspaper representatives.

A council-manager charter has been preparation by a board of free-olders in **Newport Beach, California.**

A vote on adoption of the manager lan in **Santa Barbara, California,** on eptember 22 resulted in defeat, 6,624 2,587.

Manager proposals have been de-ated in two Washington municipal-ties—**Burlington** on July 27 and **White almon** on August 10.

Managers' Convention Breaks Records

The 34th annual conference of the nternational City Managers' Associa-ion, held on Mackinac Island, Michi-an, September 12-16, attracted 199 anagers—21 per cent more than the revious high attendance at Montreal 1946. Total registration was 413.

Emphasis at this conference was on the functions and functioning of the manager rather than on municipal problems generally. Two days were devoted to the former subjects, the third day to the latter, and the fourth day to a general summarization of preceding sessions. Seventeen group discussions were held, on the following topics: The city manager as a leader, relations between council and manager, employee morale, selection of administrative personnel, grouping jobs in a small city, how to sell city government to the people, methods of ascertaining what the public thinks of municipal policies, activities and employees, planning one's own time or how to find time to be manager, training employees in public relations, problems confronting cities: personnel—finance—planning; and population group sessions: under 6,000, 6,000-12,000, 12,000-20,000, 20,000-50,000, over 50,000.

Community leadership by the city manager was approved where the council and manager are in harmony as to policies and ideas involved. Many specific problems of relations between the manager, the council and city employees were discussed, with emphasis both on diplomacy and on professional firmness and integrity. Needs and methods of telling the public about city government, its problems, and the efforts and achievements of administration were stressed along with consideration of technical problems of organization, personnel, finance and public services.

International Union of Cities Reorganized

A successful effort has been made to strengthen the International Union of Cities, which has suffered from lack of adequate funds and staff and the absence of the United States, Canada, Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

A conference at The Hague on September 27 and 28 was attended by representatives from Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States and the U. S. Military Government in Germany.

Although often invited the three Scandinavian countries had never before participated. As a result of a visit to the Scandinavian capitals by Dr. Nicholas Arkema, secretary of the Dutch Union of Cities, and members of a special committee of the U. S. Conference of Mayors headed by Mayor George W. Welsh of Grand Rapids, Michigan, the Scandinavian unions of cities sent active observers to The Hague.

New Office

Headquarters of the International Union were transferred by agreement from Brussels to The Hague, where it will have the benefits of proximity to the Dutch Union of Cities and its large and capable staff. G. Montague Harris of Great Britain, president, and Emile Vinck of Belgium, secretary-general and founder of the union in 1913—both of whom are approaching 80 years of age—retired and were respectively succeeded by Dr. P. J. Oud, mayor of Rotterdam and president of the Dutch Union of Cities, and Mr. Arkema.

An executive committee of seven members was agreed upon as the governing board with power to modernize the constitution and by-laws, for ratification at a general assembly to be held in Geneva beginning September 12, 1949. All unions of municipalities will be invited. Problems to be explored will particularly include housing and traffic control. Individual cities will be allowed to join the union.

Mayor Welsh, in commenting on the conference and the circumstance surrounding it, said: "At this juncture in the world's affairs it is an extremely significant thing to be able to report that the representatives of the cities of a dozen nations, European and North American, were able to sit about a table and come quickly to fundamental agreements on a program that we hope will enable the cities of the world to be mutually beneficial to one another and, perhaps in this way bring their peoples closer together."

AMA to Meet in December

The 1948 conference of the American Municipal Association will be held in Washington at the Statler Hotel, December 13-15. The program will consist of discussions of municipal revenues, home rule, housing, social security, civil defense, etc., with the objective of formulating a national municipal policy. Only two formal speeches are scheduled. Municipal league secretaries, and also the National Association of Municipal Legislators, will meet on Sunday, December 12.

Consolidation of California Cities Proposed

Mayor Charles Wortham of Redondo Beach, California, has proposed the consolidation of that city, Hermosa Beach and Manhattan Beach, and has appointed a special committee from his city to study the matter. The three cities form a continuous urban area closely built up in a narrow strip along six miles of coastline in Los Angeles County. Present populations of the three are given as: Redondo Beach 21,288; Hermosa Beach, 11,172; and Manhattan Beach, 9,290.

nstitutional Revision South Carolina

commission for revision of the state stitution has finally been organized South Carolina, but without repre- tation, originally proposed, from the t system. The 1948 legislature pro- d for a commission of 21 members tudy the need of constitutional re- on; it was to consist of five mem- from each house of the legislature, citizens appointed by the governor, members from the state court sys- , and the attorney general. The f justice of the Supreme Court de- ed to appoint the five court mem- however, on the grounds that r appointment would violate a pro- ition against dual office-holding. The irman of the commission as now or- ized is Senator R. M. Jefferies of lterboro.

the June issue of the REVIEW the posal to form the commission was ribed in error to North Carolina.

nstitutional Revision Moves rward in California

final meeting of the California Joint erim Committee on Legislative Con- utional Revision and of its entire isory committee has been called for vember 18 to 20, at Santa Barbara. latters to come before this meeting l include consideration of the final ort and recommendations of each of ten subcommittees, and of a final ort on the part of the whole com- ttee; and discussion and action by Advisory Committee of various as- ts of constitutional revision, espe- lly on matters recommended in the eral subcommittee reports.

utstanding Legislative rogram in Kentucky

The 1948 Kentucky General As- nbly enacted 36 bills dealing with out of 38 proposals contained in the "People's Legislative Program for Kentucky."

This program was developed and approved by various important Kentucky groups and interests working together under the auspices of the Committee for Kentucky, a fact-finding organization made up of representatives of business, industry, agriculture, labor, education, etc. These groups met together and presented their respective programs, which were considered and criticized. Recommendations that were unanimously approved were combined to form the "People's Legislative Program." All candidates for state office were sent copies of these proposals and 8,000 additional copies were distributed to other influential persons throughout the state.

The 38 proposals were presented and discussed by representatives from the participating groups at a joint hearing before important committees of the house and senate. Although the list of proposals was considered in the nature of a long-range program, nearly two-thirds were acted upon at the 1948 session. General topics included agriculture, aviation, business, conservation, education, labor, health and welfare.

Public Administration Training Program in New York

A joint program of internship and graduate training in public administration, sponsored by the State of New York and now in its second year, has recently been enlarged. Governor Dewey announced establishment of the program on May 22, 1947, and appointed an official committee of state officials and educators to act as its governing body.[1] Both the internships and the

[1]John E. Burton, director of the budget, *chairman*; Paul H. Appleby, dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public

related graduate courses in public administration were under way by September 1947. During the first year of the program 25 internships were provided; this number has been increased to 30 for the second year.

Appointments to internships are made for a period of one year only. Candidates with a year of graduate study in public administration or the social sciences have been preferred and in the second year internships were opened to out-of-state residents. Most of the internships are located in Albany, although a few have been approved in state offices in New York City.

Training Program

The interns begin their training with a general orientation session in Albany followed by more specific introduction to the work of the department to which they are appointed. Interns are assigned to junior administrative duties designed to help them obtain a broad view of administrative methods and problems. They are given experience in several departmental divisions and, when practicable, may spend some time in related departments and in the central staff agencies of the state.

Semi-monthly seminar meetings of interns are held in Albany. Administrative details of the internship program are handled by the Department of Civil Service. Professional guidance outside the departmental organization is provided by a coordinator appointed from the public administration faculty of one of the state universities.

The graduate courses in public administration are offered jointly by New York University and Syracuse Univer sity and are under the direction of a administrative committee composed o Paul H. Appleby and William J. Ronar The two schools have together worke out an integrated curriculum in publi administration designed to stimulat professional growth and to develop ad ministrative aptitude among the em ployees of the state. For most of th students enrolled the program leads t the master's degree in public adminis tration.

Documentary and archival resource of the New York State Library and th state departments have been mad available to the classes. Instruction i given by the regular faculties of th Graduate Division for Training in Pub lic Service of New York University and the Maxwell School of Syracus University. At least one member o the graduate faculties is resident i Albany.

Although a number of the course have been developed with particula regard for the needs of students in Al bany, the program is neither narrowl technical nor vocational in nature. I is not designed to prepare persons fo promotion examinations or to trai them as personnel technicians or budge examiners. Rather, courses have bee selected with a view to widening th experience of state personnel and t promote understanding of the mai springs of administrative policy an action and of the character and cons quences of administrative processes The committee on professional trainin of the Capital District Chapter of th American Society for Public Admini tration has advised and assisted th universities in the selection and pla ning of the program.

Courses being offered during 1948-4 by the New York University facult include introduction to public admini tration, economics of public financ

(Continued on page 559)

Affairs, Syracuse University; J. Edward Conway, president of the New York State Civil Service Commission; Robert T. Lansdale, commissioner of social welfare; Frank C. Moore, comptroller; William J. Ronan, director of the Graduate Division for Training in Public Service, New York University; Francis T. Spaulding, commissioner of education of the State of New York.

"Teas for Ten" Reach Thousands

Yonkers Women Organize in Support of Good Government

SEPTEMBER 27 was a red letter day for Yonkers, New York. Simultaneously with the opening of voters' registration week, four hundred "teas for ten" were held by the women of the city in an "unprecedented mass project to provide accurate and honest information about the problems of city government," reports the Yonkers *Herald Statesman.* The newspaper devoted some twenty column inches of space to a listing of the day's hostesses. The teas continued throughout registration week, reaching thousands of women.

Called the **New Women's Group,** and led by Mrs. Milton W. Harrison, its director, the organization has announced its purposes as follows:

The New Women's Group—through its teas for ten—hopes to arouse the women of this city to their political responsibilities.

The organization is nonpartisan and educational in its methods and aims.

There will be no dues payments. Membership is open to all who are interested in making Yonkers a better place in which to live and to raise their families.

"The new organization hopes to acquaint more and more women voters of Yonkers with important local issues," says Mrs. Harrison. "Among the topics to be discussed this year will be the proportional representation method of electing members of the common council." Mrs. Harrison first conceived the idea—and carried it out—in her former home town of Akron, Ohio.

Mrs. George Shively is organization director. Her steering committee, working for past months, addressed more than 70 teas to make known the purposes of the group. The women thus reached were asked to give one of the teas for ten during registration week. The city has been organized into sections, each with its own leader, covering the entire community.

Hostesses at each tea outlined the aims and purposes of the New Women's Group and read prepared literature which stated, in part:

"This year we will vote as to whether P. R. will continue, or whether we will go back to the old ward plan with its dangers of machine control and petty ward politics. Proposition 1 for repeal of P. R. will appear on the top line of the voting machines. If you want to save P. R., vote No on proposition 1. Democracy must work—it's up to you and me here and now to make it work."

BPW Clubs Seek 'Political Alertness'

"Effective citizenship is a year-round responsibility," says the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.** To bring the matter home to local clubs, citations were offered during the past year to those groups in which all members met these five requirements:

1. Every member of the club is enrolled in the political party of her choice.
2. Every club member has volunteered to do tasks at her party election district or precinct office.
3. Every member is identified with a local political party club.
4. Every member is informed of her state and local election laws.
5. Every member votes at the primaries, if primaries are held.

Results of the "political alertness"

contest have been most encouraging. Thirty-six clubs, in fifteen states, were awarded citations for a perfect record; 39 clubs in 23 states accomplished four of the requirements; 56 clubs in 30 states three; and an additional 207 clubs in 47 states reported some participation.

The federation's convention at Fort Worth, Texas, took action to "continue the good work undertaken to interest individual members in active participation in local organization work in the political party of their individual choice. As the individual members use their influence widely in the selection of qualified candidates, they will be doing the best possible work toward the accomplishment of the federation's goals. The interest of individual members is needed especially in helping in the selection of candidates equipped to do good work in fields in which the federation is working."

From Hemp Rope to Public Leadership

Reminiscing in the *Bulletin* of the **Chicago City Club,** William E. Rodriguez, the club's newly elected president, discusses the organization's beginnings in 1903. "Tradition has it," says Mr. Rodriguez, "that the club's charter members, headed by George E. Cole, made a trip to Springfield and sat in the halls of our state legislature in opposing a bill granting to traction baron Charles T. Yerkes the use of the streets of Chicago, on terms extremely favorable to Yerkes. These gentlemen not only sat in the legislative gallery but they gently swung hempen ropes therefrom during the progress of the debates of the lawmakers. Strangely enough, our chosen representatives then in Springfield quickly got the idea, and the bills failed of passage.

"In this year of grace, however, we believe we are as well able to accomplish civic improvement through public leadership and the force of our stand on public questions, expressed in factual reports based on unbiased studies and given wide publicity by ourselves and the public press."

Will the Amateur Never Learn?

"There's one thing amateur politicians never learn," says Robert Cruise McManus, of the **New Jersey Constitution Foundation,** in the final edition of his news letter, "and that is to stay in the race until it's all over. They're forever quitting at the top of the stretch and wandering off the track, under the impression that they've just won a blue ribbon.

"Take this constitution business, for instance. For years, before the new constitution was ever written, there was an active organization known as the **New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision.** James Kerney, Jr., its last chairman, described it as a 'people's lobby.' That's what it was, a federation of thirteen statewide organizations ranging all the way from the CIO to the Taxpayers' Association.

"When the constitutional convention assembled at New Brunswick last summer, the people's lobby was there with bells on. Its member organizations had agreed in advance on a minimum program of constitutional reform. That program was put on the desk of every convention delegate. Beyond that, the people's lobby brought expert witnesses to the convention to explain the program. These witnesses weren't just representatives of the local citizenry, they were nationally known scholars, jurists and governmental experts.

"It was hardly surprising, therefore, that the constitution which finally emerged from the convention was pretty much the same document that the people's lobby had asked for. So naturally, the people's lobby pitched in to help roll up the huge 'yes' majority we got last fall.

Then the people's lobby folded up. fooling! It just went 'bloop'!

The boys and girls quit on the home tch under the impression that the was over. It didn't occur to them the whole business of reorganizing state's executive department was nothing but a couple of paragraphs he new constitution. They seemed eel that if you just put those para-phs into the state house sausage ma-ne and turned a crank, out would ee the reorganizedest executive ch you ever laid eyes on. They er woke up to the fact that this THE OPPORTUNITY OF ALL E to save the money of the over-d citizens of New Jersey.

So there was no people's lobby at nton this year to see that the con-ution job was done right. There was minimum program. There were no ment witnesses. Figuratively speak-the reorganization program was tten on the corner of a desk and ed through the legislature, bill by

From all I've been able to find out, new executive branch will have a h more efficient layout than the one placed. But, to my knowledge, no-y has yet come forward to show re it will save the taxpayers one -cent piece.

So the people will have just as h fun as usual hollering about the bill. But if you ever hear one fellow to another: 'We could have saved selves plenty if we'd been on the ng line when they were reorganizing government,' get in touch with me t away. I promise to send you a k coat, or a white horse, or any-ng else you need."

With the Civic Groups

our hundred persons attended a y sponsored by the **West New York, w Jersey, Citizens' Nonpartisan gue,** to sponsor adoption of the council-manager plan. . . . Every citizen who doesn't vote forfeits 88 cents worth of service, says the *Seattle Municipal News.* "That's how much it cost King County for each ballot cast in the 1946 elections. . . . The league, C. A. Crosser, secretary, received hundreds of telephone calls during primary election day from those seeking information on candidates and issues. The office ran out of its reports on these matters during the day despite the fact that 25,000 had been published. . . .

Rotarians of **Yonkers, New York,** got the "lowdown" on city affairs in a recent discussion on "City Hall Conversation," conducted by Oxie Reichler, editor of the local *Herald Statesman.* The city manager and heads of departments described the workings of the city government and their problems. Rotarians in turn asked pertinent questions. . . .

In **Kansas City, Missouri,** six new "junior cities" were organized within the first two weeks of school by the **Community Service Division of the Welfare Department.** Others are in process of organization.

The **National League of Women Voters** plans thirteen regional conferences to launch work on its 1948-50 current agenda item—"Analysis of federal taxes and expenditures in order to understand and support such fiscal policies as will make for a stable economy." One will be held in Boston November 18 and 19; one in Chicago, November 4-5; another in St. Paul, November 30-December 1.

Things are looking up in **Charleston County, South Carolina.** Following adoption of the manager plan in September, a 100 per cent slate of outstanding citizens—businessmen, educators, a police commissioner, etc.—was elected to the county council under the new charter, with the support of various civic groups. The **League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Albert Simons,

president, polled candidates on pertinent questions pertaining to practice under the council-manager plan. . .

The **League of Women Voters of Madison, Wisconsin,** under the leadership of Mrs. Fred A. Clarenbach, is beginning a "comparative and critical study of the constitution of Wisconsin with a view to determining whether it provides the type of government that is needed today." . . .

Discussion of issues on the ballot for November 2 have been published by the **California Taxpayers' Association** in its September *Tax Digest,* Jessie K. Grant, editor, with recommendations; and by the **Portland (Oregon) City Club,** Margaret Clarke, executive secretary, in its *City Club Bulletin.* . . . The **Civic Club of Allegheny County,** Hazelle B. Scott, assistant secretary, and the **Allegheny County League of Women Voters** have issued their joint *Voters' Directory* on presidential, congressional and state and local candidates. . . .

"Citizen interest in community progress is making rapid strides," reports Lee J. Ninde, editor of the *News Letter* of the **Fort Wayne Civic Association.** "The citizen is more willing to listen, cooperate and participate in community programs than at any time since pioneer days when neighborly cooperation was a necessity." The *News Letter* describes the work of the **New York State Citizens' Council**, one of whose objectives is responsible public opinion, and refers to plans for establishment of neighborhood councils in Chicago, Toledo, Cincinnati and elsewhere.

* * *

New Publications

In a booklet just published, *Fairfield County and the Regional Plan* (eight pages, illustrated) the **Regional Plan Association,** Paul Windels, president, urges citizens to give increased attention to planning. "Your county," says the association, research and planning agency for the New Jersey-New York Connecticut metropolitan area, "mus continue to plan for its future growth if it is to maintain its character o generally good development and if it i to avoid the consequences of the type of development spreading out from the large cities of the region." Fairfield (Connecticut) is a "corridor" county, a "commuter" county and a "growing" county, says the booklet, pointing ou that the amount of future influx o commuters to Fairfield County commu nities "will have an important bearing on community development."

Recent issues of *Talk It Over,* published by the **National Institute o Social Relations,** Frank L. Weil, president, have as their subjects: "Should the Poll Tax Be Abolished?" and "How Can Youth Work for a Better Commu nity?" Its 48-page volume, *It Pays to Talk It Over* (40 cents with discounts on quantity orders) gives notes and suggestions on the theory and technique of group discussion. It has been pre pared for program chairmen, discussion leaders, etc.

As a public service to its community the **Columbia Community Council** o School District No. 1, comprising Clin ton Heights, East Greenbush, Nassau North Greenbush and Schodack, New York, has published a *1948 Directory* o the area. Listed are township officials officials and faculty of schools, churches and church organizations, home bu reaus, veterans and other organizations and residents. Included is a descriptio of the Columbia Community Council John W. Herring, president, with it officers.

Community Education in Action.—A Report on Community Organizatio and Adult Education (59 pages), ha been prepared by the **Committee o Community Organization of the Amer ican Association for Adult Educatio** from which it may be secured at 2 cents.

roportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

weden Holds ational Elections

Continues List System in Use for Forty Years

N THE quadrennial election of the second chamber of the Swedish ksdag (parliament), held September by a list system of proportional presentation, the Social Democratic rty maintained the dominating po- ical position which it has held for six- en years. Its strength was slightly duced, however, from 115 to 112 of e 230 seats in the second chamber.

"The tendency is toward two main arties," the *New York Times* quoted remier Tage Erlander as saying just efore final returns were in, evidently luding to the fact that the Liberal, grarian and Conservative parties had ganized a kind of electoral alliance d by Bertil Ohlin, Liberal leader, hich obtained 110 seats[1] for the three arties, a gain of ten over the previous stribution.

The Communist party lost 46 per cent its parliamentary power, obtaining ight[1] seats, a loss of seven. Although these eight votes if combined with those of the opposition bloc could overcome the Social Democratic vote, which is now slightly less than a majority, the unwillingness of any other party to ally itself with the Communists is expected to result in the Social Democrats having an effective majority.

The Liberal party was the only one to gain additional seats and its performance was spectacular, its parliamentary delegation being more than doubled. With its 57 seats that party is in a position to play a leading part in the opposition bloc.

An interesting feature of the election was the preponderance of opposition bloc votes in Stockholm, which was, however, balanced by gains of the Social Democrats outside the capital. A record 80 per cent of the voters cast ballots.

Preliminary election results, as reported in the *New York Times,* appear in the accompanying table.

A post-election news release from the American-Swedish News Exchange states that Prime Minister Erlander has declared that a union between his Social Democratic party and the Agrarian group is possible but that he is not willing to join with the Lib-

[1]See footnote b of accompanying table.

Swedish Parliamentary Elections, September 20, 1948

arty	*Votes Cast*	*Gain[a] or Loss*	*Seats Secured*	*Gain[a] or Loss*
ocial Democratic	1,749,672 (46.5%)	—3.4%	112 (44.4%)	— 3
iberal	846,336 (22.5%)	+9.5%	57 (24.8%)	+31
grarian	474,075 (12.6%)	—1.1%	30 (13.0%)	— 5
onservative	448,308 (11.8%)	—4.2%	22[b] (9.6%)	—17
ommunist	241,178 (6.6%)	—3.8%	9[b] (3.9%)	— 6

[a]The columns marked "Gain or Loss" indicate the change in the preceding column s compared with the results of the 1944 election. A positive entry indicates a gain ver 1944, a negative entry a loss.

[b]According to a later report from the American-Swedish News Exchange, final abulations in one constituency have given the Conservatives one additional seat at he expense of the Communists, making their totals respectively 23 and 8.

erals and Conservatives, as has been suggested, in a coalition cabinet. "To join formally in one cabinet forces which strive at different directions . . . ," he commented, "would mean to paralyze the power of action which today is so necessary in order to pursue a clear and determined economic policy." Union of the Agrarians with the Social Democrats would give the latter 142 votes, an absolute majority in the Riksdag.

Sweden has used a list system of proportional representation since 1907. Unlike the list systems of some countries, the Swedish system permits the voter to rank the candidates of the party for which he votes according to his own order of preference. It does not, however, permit the voter to express an order of preferences among candidates of more than one party (which is a feature of the Hare system, the form of P. R. used in English-speaking countries.)

South African Minority Victory Analyzed

"Nobody can blame . . . any . . . third party for the fact that in South Africa the Smuts parties with 547,437 votes have been beaten by the Malan parties[1] with 442,338 votes," writes Miss Enid Lakeman, research secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain, in the *Liberal News* of July 16. Pointing out that the result of the 1948 general election in the Union of South Africa is an example of the undemocratic potentialities of the single-member district system, commonly used in England and America, in that a minority was successful in wresting power from a majority, Miss Lakeman continues: "There was not one single 'split vote' in the whole Union. Only eleven constituencies had more than two candidates, and in each of these the winner was elected with a clear majority. . . . The Nationalists made a pact with the Afrikaner party [and Unionists with Labour] to avoid 'split votes.' Under P. R. this would have been unnecessary;[2] an Afrikaner candidate, for example, could have been allowed his chance to get a quota of votes; if he failed he would have done no harm to his side, for his supporters' votes could then be transferred to a Nationalist candidate. . . .

"In 76 small constituencies (total poll 5,000 to 7,500 each), the Malan parties with 208,908 votes won 44 seats and the Smuts parties with 266,996 votes only 32 seats. In 62 larger constituencies (total poll 8,000 to 10,500 each), the Malan parties with 244,270 votes won 34 seats, and the Smuts parties with 281,041 votes won only 28 seats. In both cases the minority has won more seats than the majority, and the large constituencies are nearly as bad as the small in this respect."

System at Fault

The article concludes that the minority victory is not to be attributed to any concentration of strength of the Malan followers in smaller constituencies, nor because of any splitting of the vote, but simply to the basic fact that the single-member district system results in many votes being cast for losing candidates and one party may unwillingly waste a much larger proportion of its votes on losing candidates than another party.

"Out of 1,066,054 votes cast," Miss Lakeman remarks, "388,342 votes (36 per cent) were cast for losing candidates and had no effect on the result. Under the same voting system in Britain, 44

[1]The parties are here grouped under the names of the individual leaders of the two contending alignments.

[2]Elsewhere the article points out that P. R., in addition to making such pre-election deals unnecessary, also would have prevented the minority group from obtaining a majority of the seats.

r cent of the vote cast in the general ection of 1945 failed to affect the re- lt. We cannot have 'fair shares' in arliament unless most of the votes st are made effective. That can easily done by 'P. R.'"

ew President Will reside at P. R. Session

Hon. Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cinnati, has been elected president of e Proportional Representation League its trustees. He succeeds Dr. A. R. atton, formerly of Northwestern Uniersity, president of the League from 30 until his death.

Mayor Cash will preside at the eague's annual meeting, Hotel Statler, oston, Tuesday morning, November 8.

The session will be devoted to a iscussion of the problems of educatng the voter on the advantages and se of P. R. Speakers will include Oxie eichler, editor of the Yonkers *Herald tatesman* and recently elected a memer of the P. R. League's advisory ouncil, who will talk on the role of the ewspaper; Robert B. Service, Jr., reasurer of the Citizens' Plan "E" Asociation of Worcester, who will decribe the work of his organization in reparation for Worcester's first P. R. lection in 1949; Edward Crane, city ouncilman, Cambridge, Massachusetts, vho will describe the work of the Camridge Citizens Association on P. R. nd Mrs. George Shively, of the Yonkers New Women's Group, on "Teas or Ten" as carried out in that city n this fall's campaign to retain P. R.

As in past years the P. R. League, ow merged with the National Muicipal League, will meet in conjunction vith the National Conference on Govrnment of that organization,[1] Novemer 22-24.

[1]See also page 528, this issue.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 552)

federal-state-local finance, and employer-employee relations in government. The Syracuse faculty offers research methods in public administration, administrative planning, comparative personnel administration, and administrative ideas and institutions in the United States.

LYNTON K. CALDWELL
Professor of Political Science
Syracuse University

Michigan Groups Cooperate on Government Workshop

The Institute of Local Government, the Michigan Municipal League and educators throughout Michigan cooperated with Michigan State College to sponsor the college's third consecutive Summer Workshop in State and Local Government, July 6-23. Average daily attendance was 85, from throughout the state. A total of 55 students took the course for credit. Panels, participated in by some 80 persons, were held in the mornings, with visits to state and county offices in the afternoons. Enrollment substantially exceeded that of prior years.

Chairman of the workshop was James W. Miller of the Department of History and Political Science, Michigan State College. The program, drawn up early in the year, was approved by Professors William Combs and Marshall Knappen. The enterprise was marked by interest, cooperative spirit and unselfish efforts of public officials both state and local. D. Hale Brake, state treasurer and chairman of the Institute of Local Government in Michigan, actively assisted, securing the services of state and county officials; John Huss, director of the Michigan Municipal League and his colleague, Professor John W. Lederle of the University of Michigan, cooperated in obtaining the services of city officials.

Two Counties Vote on Manager Plan

Santa Clara, Anne Arundel Citizens Seek New Charters

THE Board of Freeholders of Santa Clara County, California, elected June 1, 1948, to draft a home rule charter, has completed a plan calling for an appointed chief executive officer after approximately three months of work. Its task was expedited through studies made in preceding years by grand juries and various citizens' organizations. The defeated charter of 1933 also provided some important guide posts. As reported in this department last month, the charter has been scheduled for submission to popular referendum in the November 2 election.

The charter establishes the office of county executive, under supervision of and appointed by the county board of supervisors. The executive will have supervision over sixteen administrative officials. They include treasurer, tax collector, controller, clerk, recorder, coroner, sheriff, engineer, registrar of voters, purchasing agent, county librarian, building inspector, and directors of public health, welfare, planning and personnel.

The board of supervisors appoints, in addition to the county executive, the planning commission, personnel board, board of education, welfare commission, county counsel, clerk to the board, health commission, law library trustees, and members of other boards and commissions not otherwise provided for. The voters of the county will continue to elect the assessor, justices of peace, district attorney and superintendent of schools.

The charter also provides for the merit system, the initiative, referendum and the recall. The board of supervisors consists of five members elected on a district basis for four-year staggered terms.

Anne Arundel Campaign

The campaign to secure a favorable vote on the manager charter for Anne Arundel County (Annapolis), Maryland, has been one of increasing intensity. This charter was to have gone into operation a year ago, but by petition its operation was stayed until a referendum could be held at the general election this month.[1]

Recently the South Anne Arundel Lions Club listened to a speech on the plan and then went on record in favor of the measure. It has also received the endorsement of the Annapolis and Anne Arundel County Chamber of Commerce after study of the plan by a seventeen-man committee appointed by the chamber's president.

Counties Consider Manager

The foreman of the Greenwood County, South Carolina, Grand Jury has declared that the jury has been studying the manager plan and he is personally in favor of it for Greenwood County. The real decision on the adoption of the plan, however, would rest with the legislative delegation of the county.

The manager plan already is in operation in the city of Greenwood. It is assumed that the county plan would be similar in many respects. Under the structure of South Carolina government, the legislative delegation in the state legislature determines matters of policy for the cities and counties, and the manager performs his administrative duties under its direction.

[1] See the REVIEW, February 1948, page 111.

n Washoe County (Reno), Nevada, Nevada Taxpayers' Association has rested the county commissioners in manager form. The commissioners currently engaged in studying the erience of manager government elsere.

ssouri County to Draft me Rule Charter

uchanan County (St. Joseph), Misri, one of the four counties under new Missouri constitution with the t to draft its own charter, has sed a sufficient number of signatures appointment of a charter commis-[1] The four county judges now are uired to name the fourteen persons o will constitute the charter comsion, to consist of an even number Democrats and Republicans.

nder the constitutional provisions, judges have until November 20 to ne the commission. It is believed t they will wait until after the Nober 2 general election in order to e themselves the maximum time poe to canvass all possible names and avoid any political implications in appointments that they make.

he commission will be allowed one r in which to draft a charter.

rham Again Considers y-County Consolidation

he Durham, North Carolina, city ncil has again instructed the mayor the city to appoint a committee our, and to ask the Durham Coun- commissioners to appoint a comtee of three, to study the proposed solidation of the city and county ernments, reports *Popular Govern-nt.*

similar study was undertaken as ly as 1932 and again last February en the General Assembly authorized h action. The latter commission disbanded last spring, however, when it was advised that the legislative act under which it was working might be unconstitutional since it delegated wide powers for making recommendations to the commission.

The present resolution of the Durham city council provides for consultation between the commission and the attorney general before it presents its proposals to the General Assembly.

Wisconsin to Consider State-County Infirmary System

The Wisconsin Medical Society and the Wisconsin Association of County Judges have devised a state-county infirmary plan to provide care for the thousands of chronically ill and aged and infirm citizens of Wisconsin. The measure was introduced toward the close of the 1947 legislature, but it was too late for action to be taken on it. It will be resubmitted when the next legislature convenes. The rapid increase of the state's aged population is given as the need for such legislation at an early date.

County Officials Favor Four-Year Terms

At a recent convention of the Joint Association of County Officials in Wisconsin, the members attending the convention went on record in favor of four-year terms for state and county officials.

Kansas Bureau Weighs Savings in County Consolidation

A recent issue of *Your Government,* bulletin of the Bureau of Government Research, University of Kansas, devotes its entire space to the problem of county consolidation in Kansas. The major article is based on a master's thesis submitted at the University of Kansas.

The conclusion reached is that county

(Continued on page 568)

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1946, page 267.

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New Jersey Commission Disapproves Bonus

Claims Sum Needed Would Lead to Unbalanced Budget

BEFORE it adjourned last spring, the New Jersey legislature, by concurrent resolution, directed the Commission on State Tax Policy to prepare legislation for submitting the question of a bonus for World War II veterans to the voters at the 1948 election. The further question of the method of financing the bonus was also to be submitted.

The commission, in its formal report filed in August, refused to do either, stating that it had been assigned a duty impossible of performance.

The resolution setting the commission's task had charged it with the incidental duty of drawing the proposals in such manner as to maintain a sound fiscal structure for the state. The advisory body found, however, that the amount of the bonus proposed—roundly $105,000,000—while not substantial when divided among the state's 550,000 eligible veterans, was so large as to lead to chronic unbalanced budgets. It forecast that, without the cost of a bonus, the state's general fund balance would be virtually exhausted by the end of the fiscal year 1948-49 and that, even if all highway fund balances were used, 1949-50 would end with a deficit unless new revenues were developed.

Only two revenue sources — an increase in the gasoline tax and a special tax on beer—had been before the legislature as means of financing the bonus, although a state lottery had also been proposed but was held by the commission to be untenable for legal and moral as well as fiscal reasons.

The commission held neither of these excises would meet the requirements of a general tax with dependable and adequate yield, and concluded that since the two major taxes available in the alternative—income and general sales taxes—were politically unavailable because of declared opposition by the governor and the two major political parties, its only practical solution was to frame a question for submission whereby the voters could select the revenue measure themselves. This, they were advised by the attorney general they could not do inasmuch as a revenue measure to be submitted for approval would have to be already on the statute books.

Louisville Wage Tax Upheld by Court of Appeals

A tax of 1 per cent on wages and the net profits of businesses and corporations, levied by the city of Louisville, Kentucky, has recently been held constitutional by the Kentucky Court of Appeals.

A taxpayer had contended that the levy was an income tax, that the city lacked authority to impose an income tax, and that the measure was therefore unconstitutional.

The tax is levied as a privilege tax however, and the court so construed it holding it to be a license fee measured by income and not an income tax as such. The court pointed out that the state constitution did not impose limitations for measuring the license tax or limitations on what may be licensed.

Miami Enacts, Rescinds, Newspaper Tax

A new municipal transactions tax had a remarkably brief life recently with the city's daily newspapers the

bjective. According to an Associated ress dispatch, Miami, Florida, for bout five hours on August 18, had a ax of 1 per cent on the gross receipts f daily newspapers. The tax ordinance as adopted early in the council's ses ion by a vote of three to two but, as he session was ready to adjourn, one ouncilman changed his vote from "yes" o "no."

The measure's supporters described he tax as necessary to raise an esti nated $250,000 for capital improve ments in the 1948-49 budget, but the Miami *Herald*, in an editorial of August 5, 1948, had described it as "punative" or newspaper support of a recall elec tion petition growing out of the dis harge of the city manager by the council majority. The newspaper had promised a court test of the law.

Since the five-hour-old ordinance would not have become effective for 30 days, no taxes accrued under it.

Parking Meters to Finance Parking Lot

Wayne, Michigan, has enacted an ordinance pledging the revenues of its parking meters for the construction of a 600-car off-street parking lot in the business district, according to Village Manager Peter F. Roan. The lot, to be completed in the spring of 1949, will be the largest municipally-owned parking enterprise in the state.

As an alternative to revenue bond financing, the village had considered meeting the cost of the lot by special assessments against benefited business properties. Under the procedure adopted, both capital financing and maintenance expenses will be paid from the parking meter revenues. According to Mr. Roan, Ann Arbor is the only other city in Michigan which has thus far used revenue bond financing for off-street parking facilities.

Error Keeps Amendment Off Primary Ballot

The Minneapolis Charter Commission has proposed an amendment to the city's charter granting additional tax-levying powers to the Board of Education. It was scheduled for submission to the voters at the September 14 primary election. However, through error, the notice of election was not published four weeks prior to that date and it will be necessary to call a special election.

Pennsylvania Surveys New Local Taxes

With the local revenue situation in a state of ferment not approached since the early 1930s, as municipalities experiment with new "non-tax" revenue sources, it is notable that Pennsylvania —whose municipalities, acting under so-called "Act 481" of 1947, are at the forefront among experimenters—has undertaken a continuous study of what is going on within its borders. The surveys are being conducted by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Municipal Affairs, which late in September released two pertinent studies.

One study[1] examines some of the legal aspects of the rash of new local revenue ordinances. Prepared for the guidance of local officials and not intended to replace the study and opinions of the appropriate municipal law officers, this survey summarizes the major points of contention already decided or before the Pennsylvania courts in connection with tax measures enacted under authority of Act 481. It also considers some of the problems not yet before the courts.

Other aspects studied are the relationship of Act 481 and of the so-called

[1] *Legal Problems Involving Act 481*, by Elizabeth Smedley. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, Harrisburg, 1948.

Sterling Act, adopted in the late 1930s, and the authority for the Philadelphia wage tax.

Among the significant aspects of the act affirmed by the state courts are: that it is constitutional; that while taxes levied under it may not duplicate state taxes the fact that it taxes the same person, object or income is not necessarily a duplication; that the revenue from all taxes levied under the act may not exceed the maximum amount of property taxes which the unit might levy for general purposes; and that taxes levied under the act may not be unreasonable or excessive.

Not yet clearly indicated by the courts are questions arising when two or more overlapping units levy a similar tax, matters having to do with the mechanics of collection when two or more units attempt to centralize the collection procedure in one agency, and broad aspects of the relationship between the collection provisions of ordinances adopted under the act and collection procedure provided by general law.

That the legal and administrative aspects of wholesale experimentation with a broad group of new local tax measures are large is indicated by a second study[2] tabulating the tax measures enacted under Act 481 as of September 20, 1948. This shows that a total of 382 local units have enacted 503 different tax measures. Some 35 cities have enacted 50 measures, 127 boroughs have enacted 181 measures, 13 first class townships have passed 14 tax ordinances, and 207 school districts have adopted 258 measures.

Of the 503 tax measures enacted, 120 were severance and related privilege taxes and 119 were amusement taxes, these two groups accounting for nearly half the total. Income taxes ranked third with 78 measures, per capita taxes fourth with 72 measures, and taxes on mechanical devices fifth with 56 measures.

There were 19 mercantile taxes and 10 taxes on deed transfers. There were four measures each taxing personal property and occupations, three each taxing signs and billboards, trailers and manufacturers, two each taxing scrap metal dealers, fuel pumps and employers, and one each taxing used car dealers, auto dealers both used and new, ashes and cinders, business privileges, parking space and taxicabs.

The largest number of units making use of Act 481 was in Allegheny County, where Pittsburgh and two other cities, fourteen boroughs, five townships, and twenty school districts had enacted taxes of one kind or another. Cambria County, however, with 37 units, and Westmoreland County, with 34 units, were close contenders.

The largest single anticipated yield under the measure was $1,500,000 expected from a 10 per cent admission tax in Pittsburgh. Johnstown, in Cambria County, expects to get $500,000 from a 1 per cent income tax, while Sharon, in Mercer, expects to raise $350,000 from an income tax of 7 mills. In most instances, however, the expected yields are modest, although of substantial benefit to the small units which make up the bulk of the municipalities using the act.

[2] *Taxes Levied Under Act 481 as of September 20, 1948.* Bureau of Municipal Affairs, Harrisburg, 1948.

ooks in Review

litics in the Empire State. By ren Moscow. New York, Alfred A. pf, 1948. 250 pp. $3.

. Moscow as a political reporter red Albany for seven years for the *York Times* and, before that, cov- the New York city hall for other rs. Here he reports in orderly fac- fashion on the current condition practices of the state government, ading the regime of Governor ey.

ide from taking some of the polish Governor Dewey's repute, he brings o disclosures or sensations, no lift- of the lid. He deals frankly with realities of the state's politics and, might be expected of a competent at his post, there is probably little has escaped him. Happily he ws little of the cynicism about char- rs and motives which newspaper so often affect; he even admires occasion!

ew York is quite possibly the best erned state in the union. The scale its operations—90,000 mental pa- ts, for instance—and the intensity ts problems have made it a pioneer administrative techniques and it is red by a long array of depart- ntal experts who bother not at all h politics. Its governors have not been well intentioned but capable earnest. Its legislature has long n free of scandals and its cities un- home rule are independent and pro- ssive. There are pressure groups, of rse, but, if there be corruption, even Moscow, with plenty of time and l, on the scene for seven years, is ware of it.

s a candid portrait of the men and facts of political life in the Empire te in the last twenty years, the ime is sound and superbly well in- ned. New Yorkers will read it with sfaction to round out their knowl- edge of their state, and people in Pennsylvania, for instance, will look on the picture with envy.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

The Politics of Equality; New Zealand's Adventures in Democracy. By Leslie Lipson. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1948. xiii, 520 pp. $6.

The author, now a professor of political science at Swarthmore College, spent eight years as director of the School of Public Administration in the University of New Zealand and was several times a consultant to governmental agencies.

In this serious work he describes the early history of government in New Zealand and its second period, the period of pioneer social experimentation which began in 1890. It is significant that he finds it unnecessary to describe the numerous interventions of the government into local economics—minimum wage laws, compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, old-age pensions, government insurance and socialized medicine, for these things, and woman suffrage, too, came into being in New Zealand earlier than elsewhere, but the rest of the world has so largely caught up with its leader that the techniques which New Zealand has to exhibit in such fields are no longer advanced models. New Zealand was first but is no longer unique.

The narrative of New Zealand politics is lucid and often parallels our own story of abuses and reforms. There was abuse of patronage to protect the "ins" from dislodgements, and civil service reform. There was disorderly growth of bureaus, and efforts to regroup and streamline administration. There were amateurs galore in technical posts, legislative interferences in administrative detail and all the things that tend to keep quality of government mediocre.

Over 20 per cent of the working population is on the government payroll and it is organized and throws its weight politically.

The tussle between special interests and the general interest is intense and unceasing; demagoguery affronts groups of high purpose. But politics is rather simple; there are, as in England, only two layers of government, and 95 per cent of the eligible voters turn out to vote. The plurality elections have brought periods of difficulty when there were three or four parties on the scene. It all sounds familiar!

Professor Lipson starts on the interesting quest indicated by the title to see if politics are different in a community where all men are really quite equal economically with no pinnacles of wealth or power. In so far as this equality of wealth is imposed by government, it restricts liberty; a money-making genius would meet his come-uppance in the steep income taxes—another New Zealand invention.

The character of the national economy which is mainly agrarian does not lead to massive organizations of employees or aggregations of capital. So perhaps there is less pressure from privilege seekers.

But if the stakes be less, it appears from the narrative that the political drama is just as intense as here. That is my interpretation of the facts, for the author does not answer for us his main query as to whether politics in this equalitarian state is any different from politics elsewhere among the democracies.

He does find a difference in the social scene—in this two-dimensional plane the scene lacks diversity and cultural animation, the people seem unstimulated by security, novelty shocks them, originality is discouraged, genius in the arts and sciences has just never appeared. There are no further bold social programs in sight, no dreams of new enchantments ahead; no leaders wi further visions beyond those that we achieved decades ago. Protecting pe ple against pits of poverty is a negati program of prevention and repair, a freedom from fear is fine, of course, far as it goes.

It is disappointing to have to inf that completion of such programs h not released the energies of tho 1,600,000 people for inspiriting leade ship of the world in further soci pioneering!

R. S.

A Little Democracy Is A Dangerou Thing. By Charles W. Ferguson. Ne York, Association Press, 1948. 124 p $1.50.

A highly enthusiastic preachment o what a wonderful thing it would be there were many times as many di cussion circles, overhauling public que tions, as there actually are. That, a the author sees it, would be democrac as distinguished from the "little demo racy" we have.

The merits of such a situation a repeatedly pictured as sure to lead t ward world government; the autho would apparently be disappointed the discussion groups wasted energy o any other subject or failed to force th hands of eminent men like Trygvie Li Secretary Marshall and the scholars the American Association for the Unite Nations who deplore that crusade as pipe dream.

Mr. Ferguson seems unaware of th vast number of issues which publi opinion is supposed to influence—Wa ter Lippmann started counting the once—in contrast to the trivial numbe on which mass convictions can be a cumulated in a given year. The Leagu of Women Voters could testify ho few programs per year can be pu across in a chain of their experience discussion groups.

Granted that more discussion group

ally in social strata that don't them, would be a good thing, they o solution, and we shall go on efforts to improve and simplify entative government.

---

nando Wood of New York. By el Augustus Pleasants. New York, bia University Press, 1948. 216 3.

well documented biography of a r and politician of easy standards w York City in the era just be- Tweed. Interesting chiefly as a tion of local politics in that d.

---

nning the Modern Municipal Re- By The Mead Corporation, New 17, 1948. 40 pp. Free

is pamphlet is an enlightened ob- advertisement for Mead's fine pa- but it is so well done that it earns w here nevertheless. It advises y dramatized pictorial municipal ts and exhibits in copious illustra- an array of the best, selected from lection of over 500. An important amply studied contribution to the ts made by the International City agers' Association and others to ove the style and attention value unicipal reports intended for citi- ! And no one will mind the four trusive pages at the back which Mead's papers.

---

nerican Farmers' and Rural Or- zations. By David Edgar Lind- n, edited by Herbert McNee Ham- Champaign, Illinois, The Garrard s, 1948. xii, 457 pp. $4.75.

is book has been prepared as a course in colleges but can be used high school classes as well. It sses the field of farmers' and rural nizations, historical backgrounds, nt-day farmers' organizations, parative structures, functions and processes, and national policies, rural values and human welfare. Selected readings and questions are listed at the end of each chapter. While prepared mainly for students, the book should prove useful to leaders of rural groups and in adult education.

The Government of Canada. By Robert MacGregor Dawson. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1948. x, 662 pp. $5.50.

A competent critical description of the dominion government (omitting provincial and local), its structure, history and working, including the activities of the political parties.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Directories

Census Publications 1947—Catalog and Subject Guide—with a Special Appendix of Publications of the 1945 Census of Agriculture. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1948. 229 pp.

United States Government Manual—1948. Washington 25, D. C., The National Archives, Division of the Federal Register. 722 pp. $1. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

Government Textbooks

Introduction to American Government. (Ninth Edition.) By Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948. ix, 1135 pp. $5.

Labor

Causes of Industrial Peace under Collective Bargaining. (Case Studies 1.) By Clark Kerr and Roger Randall. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1948. 78 pp. $1.

Metropolitan Areas

The Problem of Government in the San Francisco Bay Region. By John C. Bollens. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. 162 pp. $2 paper bound; $3 cloth bound.

Parking

Parking Survey—Downtown Toledo. Summary of Findings. A Preliminary Report by the Toledo-Lucas County Plan Commissions in Cooperation with the Ohio Department of Highways and the Public Roads Administration, Federal Works Agency. Toledo, Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, 1948. 21 pp.

Pensions

Retirement Planning for Small Municipalities. Personnel Aspects, Objectives, Technical Problems, Insured Method of Coverage, The Statewide Plan, Typical Provisions, Question of Social Security Coverage, Suggested Policy and Procedure. By A. A. Weinberg. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1948. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Planning

Concerning Town Planning. By Le Corbusier, Translated by Clive Entwistle from the French **Propos D'Urbanisme.** New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948. 127 pp. $2.75.

Local Planning and Zoning. A Manual of Powers and Procedures for Citizens and Governmental Officials. Albany, New York Department of Commerce, Bureau of Planning, 1948. 82 pp.

Mapping for Planning. A Procedural Guide for the Classification and Mapping of Land Uses and Related Technical Studies. By E. B. Wilkens. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1948. 25 pp. $1.50.

Population

Estimates of the Population of Voting Age by States: 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commer Bureau of the Census, 1948. 6 pp.

Public Libraries

Standards and Planning for Pub Libraries. Chicago, American Libra Association, 1948. 12 pp.

Recreation

Recreation. An Analysis of Its A ministration and Program of Activiti and Facilities Required. Cincinna City Planning Commission, 1947. pp. illus. $1.

Wages

The Guaranteed Annual Wage. Alexander Calder and James L. Kni Washington, D. C., National Planni Association, 1948. 38 pp. 50 cents.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 561)

government costs the taxpayers small counties from two to four tim as much as it does in the large counties. The author admits that t savings expected through consolidati are impossible to prove absolutely. fact, he states that this is one of t factors which has retarded the progre of the consolidation movement.

The author of the original thesis to three groups of counties in vario parts of the state and compared the with nearby large counties. In the co densed article, however, only one grou of four counties is selected for compa ison with a nearby county, roughl equal in population to the combine population of the four.

Statistical tables reveal that t greatest savings would be made in t salaries of county officers. Other sa ings would be made in the assessme of property and auditing. Total es mated savings of approximately $60,0 would be more than 20 per cent of t total cost of county government in t area.